

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

OLIVER JOHNSON, Editor.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

JAMES BARNABY, Publishing Agent.

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THE BUGLE.

Question and Answer.

FRIEND JOHNSON: I wish to ask you a question, and I hope you will not consider it unimportant. What do you mean by the use of the term "American Church?" In your comment on the baptism of James K. Polk you say, "This is soul-saving according to the method of the American Church." Please inform me and others where this "American Church" may be found, who the members are, etc., etc.

Yours in Freedom's Cause,
SAML. W. ROGERS.

New Antioch, July 17, 1849.

Answer.

By the "American Church" we mean the great leading, popular sect of the country, which give tone to public opinion and are generally recognized as authoritative exponents of the morality of the Bible. If our correspondent has never seen that Church nor any of its members, he will not have to make a very long pilgrimage to find them. We should like to see a place where they do not exist. If New Antioch is such a place, it must be highly favored.

—Perhaps our correspondent puts the above questions on account of some cavilling opponent, and not because he himself wants light. If so, we will say they are a species of hypercriticism that is hardly worthy of notice. When we say that the American People are a slaveholding people, who mistake our meaning! Who understands us as thereby denying that there are thousands of Abolitionists in the land, who hate slavery with all their souls? Why then affect to doubt who and what we mean when we speak of the "American Church?" Don't those who are hit know it? And was any one ever hit that did not deserve to be? Away then with hair-splitting!

Voice from the Colored Citizens of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

CITY OF FORT WAYNE, Indiana, July 10th, 1849.

At a meeting of the Colored People of this City, held on the 16th inst., to take into consideration the merits of an appeal made to the Colored People of Indiana by William W. Findlay, urging them, if they would enjoy social, civil and political privileges, and be truly independent, to Colonize in Liberia:—in answer to said Appeal, it was Resolved:—

1. That the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness belongs to us as an inalienable right from our Creator, in common with all mankind.

2. Though denied in some things the full enjoyment of liberty and the pursuit of happiness at present, which are awarded to the whites, yet we are determined to use all lawful means, and to continue in so doing, until we shall be allowed the full privileges of American citizens; for our forefathers fought, bled and died to secure for us and to us these things, in common with other citizen soldiers, in the Revolutionary War.

4. That, because we are at present denied some of these rights in this State, we should not abandon the hope of attaining justice for ourselves and our posterity, when already the heaven of justice is beginning to show its perfect work in some of the Eastern States; and in some of the Western, though not yet arrived to a state of maturity, is so far improved as to assure us that patience and perseverance are only needed on our part; and if we should at such a time flee our country, forsake the graves of our fathers, desert the places of our birth and the scenes of our childhood, we should show ourselves unworthy the enjoyment of those things now withheld from us.

4. That the Prince of Slavery and Slaveholding never sprung upon the American People a more sure and destructive scheme for the annihilation of the Free-Colored People

of this land, than the scheme of colonization in Africa. It never designed to do anything for our benefit, but to destroy. Let it speak for itself: "The moral, intellectual, and political improvement of people of color within the United States are objects foreign to the powers of this Society."—Address of Am. Col. Soc. to its Auxiliaries, At. Rep. vii. 291.

5. That since the Colonization Society has sent forth to the world this broad declaration, we feel insulted when asked to emigrate to Liberia; and when a colored man becomes the tool of such a Society, or on his own responsibility advocates Colonization, we look upon him as recreant to the best good of his race.

6. That, while we will labor to elevate our race and secure to them the enjoyment of equal civil and political privileges with the whites, we feel bound to labor to prevent our people from colonizing in Liberia; for every one that leaves this country for that American Golgotha, weakens our hands and throws obstacles in our way that are hard to be overcome.

7. That a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions be forwarded by the Clerk to the Editor of the Bugle, published in Salem, Ohio, with the request that he will publish the same in that paper.

Done by order of the meeting,
GEO. N. BLACK, Mod'r.
GEORGE FISHER, Clerk.

Political Anti-Slavery.

St. Clairsville, July 25, 1849.

MR. EDITOR: In your introductory article in the Bugle, if I mistake not your meaning, you advance the opinion that the Anti-Slavery Question should not be made a political one. As an advocate of freedom, you are, without doubt, in favor of free discussion. I therefore beg leave to differ from you a little on this subject; not that I am absolutely certain that I am right, and you wrong; but in order, by impartially viewing the question, to arrive at the most tenable conclusions respecting it.

Now, what are we to understand by not making it a political question? Are we to understand by it, that we should not point out the wicked injustice of supporting a slaveholding government, or the necessity of a political reform? Are we to let government go on, extending and fostering the cause of Slavery, without rebuke, or an attempt to prevent it, and combat the system only as a religious or moral evil? Should we not set forth to the people the disgrace and ruin that Slavery is entailing upon our country, and the advantages that would result to us politically from its abolition? I, for one, cannot but believe it to be the imperative duty of every true patriot and philanthropist to endeavor to overturn those unholy slave codes to cease to support, or have any connection with the base compromises in favor of Slavery—to establish in their stead a just and equitable basis of government—laws which will recognize the "inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Surely this would be acting politically; if so, then let us combat it, both as a political and moral evil. If we do not do this, it appears to me that we must fall back upon "no governmentism;" and this Disunionists are not prepared to do. The great majority of them are in favor of civil government—believe that it would be impossible, in our present condition, to get along peaceably without the restraint of human laws.

That our cause must eventually triumph, is very apparent. Truth is progressive. The people will not long be satisfied with slavery restriction merely. They must and will demand its total eradication. And this cannot be done without raising the standard and carrying out the principle of "No Union with Slaveholders." Now the great mass of the people are wedded to politics, and it is not to be supposed that they will readily abandon their idol. So that, if Disunionists even now, as a body, were in favor of making it wholly a moral question, (which is by no means the case,) it must eventually be made a political one also. Besides, what possible inconsistency can it be for those who believe human government indispensable, to endeavor to give "Liberty to the captive" by ceasing to support the constitution and laws which are the cause of his oppression, and by endeavoring to establish those which will guarantee to him his rights as a man? Yes! I repeat it, let us diligently labor for the overthrow of Slavery, both morally and politically.

Yours very respectfully,
J. W. NEWPORT.

Remarks.

How was it possible for the writer of the above so to misunderstand us? We did not say that the Anti-Slavery Question should not be made a political one. What we did say was, that "a political party is neither a legitimate nor a reliable instrumentality" for

the promotion of the cause; and we warned Abolitionists, not against all political action, but against relying upon "political instrumentalities alone, without the aid of that moral action which has been so potent in its influence hitherto." Is this hard to be understood? Our friend need not fear that political action will be wanting at the right time. It will come along just as fast as Abolitionists can succeed in changing the public opinion which supports Slavery. He might as rationally fear lest the mercury should forget to rise in the thermometer in a hot July day, as to be worried from an apprehension that the American People, once converted to the anti-slavery gospel, will fail to abolish slavery from any reluctance to engage in political action. An American needs to be driven into politics just as much as a duck needs driving into the water, and no more. The danger is all on the other side—that he will forget his moral obligations in the whirl of party excitement.

—One thing, however, should be understood. We do object to any political action which involves the support of the present U. S. Constitution, for whose overthrow we daily pray. We understand our correspondent to agree with us in this.

Selections.

The Pioneer and the Silver Pitcher.

We copied last week from the Boston Republican an account of the Presentation of a Silver Pitcher to Mr. Garrison by the Colored People of Boston, and of the Hand of Farewell extended by them to WILLIAM W. BROWN, the Fugitive Slave, who has gone as a Delegate to the Peace Congress in Paris. The last Liberator contains a pretty full report of the proceedings and speeches on that interesting occasion, which we would gladly publish entire if our space permitted. We give below the eloquent and appropriate Address to Mr. Garrison by our much esteemed friend, Wm. C. NELL, together with Mr. Garrison's reply.

William C. Nell, in presenting the Pitcher, spoke as follows:

ESTEEMED FRIEND GARRISON:

The distinguished honor has been conferred upon me of tendering you, in behalf of the colored citizens of Boston, this, though feeble, yet sincere token of their grateful appreciation of your early devotion to, and unflinching advocacy of the cause of human rights. This symbol has been selected, not for its intrinsic value, but merely as a medium through which may be poured forth a libation of thanks from the altar of their hearts. This occasion, Sir, is eminently suggestive of the many incidents, trials, warnings, and triumphs, too, of that mission, the success of which, to the present hour, is mainly owing to the consecration of your best energies.—The mind instinctively reverts back to the hour when the Liberator tocsin first sounded in New-England; when among its proselyting hills and valleys, reverberated that stirring cry—"IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION! THE RIGHT OF THE SLAVE, AND THE DUTY OF THE MASTER!"

That principle then, with but a few, a Spartan band to rally around its standard, has now become the watchword of a mighty army, whose name is Legion, and whose zeal is yet destined to uproot from the American soil the curse of slavery, preparatory to entwining upon her escutcheon the then deserved appellation of

"Bright Eden, land of nations,
Proud home of Liberty!"

We are also reminded of the prowess with which your Damascus blade has been wielded against the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, whose injustice and refined wickedness towards the colored American have towered heaven high. But, thanks to a kind Providence which has sustained you in the conflict, its evil power has been materially crippled; and though it may even now assume to stand erect, it can never again soar aloft as it did before its broad wings were clipped by that keen instrument, "Garrison's Thoughts on Colonization."

It affords us happiness to bear testimony here to the consistency of your anti-slavery character. Your practice has been coactive with your profession. In every emergency, where your voice and influence have been in aid of the nominally free colored man, or the panting fugitive, your white plume, like that of Henry IV. at the battle of Navarre, has been most conspicuous at that point where the blows fell both thick and fast, battling in their defense.

"So shines a good deed in a wicked world."

You have lived the true life, proclaimed the true word, and God has thus far blessed your labors.

The colored American, hunted like a partridge on the mountains, even in his own native land, feels as none other can, when a friend shows his hand with a heart in it. He is inspired with new life, invigorated to new conflicts, as was the feeble Aeneas by the touch of his mother earth.

When such anti-slavery deeds are performed in a pro-slavery community, the examples are like specks of verdere amidst universal barrenness; or scattered lights surrounded with thick and prevailing darkness—they deserve perennial memory. When I forget them, may this right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.

We feel assured that your past and present career is a safe criterion by which to judge the future. True as is the needle to the pole, so has been, and we are confident will be, your adherence to the cause of down-trodden humanity—the wide world o'er. This assurance is indelibly impressed upon the hearts of bond and free—all of whom, "from liars in youth to silvery age," will proudly unite in weaving for your brow a chaplet of unfading laurels. The name and deeds of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON will be transmitted to posterity, enkindling the inspiration of the orator's tongue and the poet's pen, "when victor's wreaths and monarch's gems shall blend in common dust." And when a few more years shall have rolled away, and the last chain fallen from the limb of the last slave, may all, with uplifted eyes and tears of benediction, participate with you in the joys awaiting your advent to that world above, where exists not the distinction of master and slave, but where all are free!

Friend Garrison! In presenting this Pitcher, bearing the inscription as your chosen motto, "My Country is the World—my Countrymen are all Mankind"—we would humbly ask its acceptance as a mutual pledge for continued service in Freedom's cause—that we may aid you in rearing upon the soil of our much loved though guilty land, the tree of impartial liberty, to be so watered by our co-laborers, that all who will may pluck fruit from its branching boughs. We invoke for you Heaven's choicest blessings—that you may be endowed plentifully with that energy of heart and mind to combat Slavery to the end, as you have from the beginning—

"I am no longer, in this favored land,
In the voice of sympathy; and
Who breathe the same pure air alike are free!
So may God bless you—and the franchised slave
Remember only in his grateful prayer,
That he has ever trained Oppression's cup,
And that he owes his liberty to you!"

(Applause.)

Mr. Garrison, on rising, was cheered by hearty and long-continued applause. He said—

Mr. Chairman—Beloved Friends—If I were standing in the presence of the malignant enemies of Freedom—or those who hate and proscrib me, because I will not betray my sacred cause—I should feel strong, confident, serene. But now, surrounded as I am by those whose hearts beat in unison with mine, who are here to give me their smiles, thanks and applause—I am filled with the deepest embarrassment. All that I can say is, that in the spirit with which this beautiful gift is proffered to me—the spirit of cordial esteem, of warm affection, of ardent gratitude—do I accept of it. If it be no proof that I am deserving such a token from you, my colored fellow-citizens, it is at least conclusive evidence that you regard me in the light of a benefactor.

To the accusation which the enemies of the anti-slavery enterprise have so often and so disparagingly brought against me, that my labors have done more harm than good—that I have retarded rather than advanced the cause of emancipation—my reply is, it cannot possibly be true so long as, on the one hand, the slave-trailers are effecting large rewards for my seizure, and denouncing me in unmeasured language; and, on the other, those whose advocate I claim to be are giving me their smiles, blessings and gifts!

How have I put back the cause? What have I done to strengthen the hands of tyranny? What have been the head and front of my offending?

I began by affirming that THE SLAVE IS A MAN—not three-fifths of a man, but a whole man—as good, as precious, by birth and destiny, as any other man ever created by God.

Next I contended that, being a man, to him belonged all the rights of a man; and, therefore, that he ought to be immediately and unconditionally set free from his chains—not colonized in Africa, as the condition of his freedom, but protected and elevated here, in the land of his birth.

I demanded for him equal educational, social, political and religious privileges.

I called for the immediate repeal of every proscriptive enactment against persons of color, in the name of reason, justice, humanity. Thank God, the work has been effectually performed in the old Bay State! No such enactment can now be found on her statute book.

I maintained that men were not responsible for the color of their skin, and that it was equally absurd and outrageous to exclude from the common privileges of society, any class on account of their complexion.

Mr. Garrison here alluded to the wonderful change that had been wrought in public sentiment on this "delicate subject," within a few years past; and dwelt with special pride and satisfaction on the fact, that in the railroad cars and other public conveyances in this Commonwealth from which refined and intelligent colored persons were once brutally ejected, no complexional distinction is now recognized. This was the way in which their cause had been put back!

He also referred to the auspicious changes which had taken place in religious bodies and political parties on the question of slavery, and made special reference to the controversy now going on between Calhoun and Hinton. The Southern house was at last divided—and a house divided against itself cannot stand—while at the North, we were growing more and more united in the cause of freedom.

He alluded to the state of the country at the time the Liberator was started, and when scarcely an individual was willing to avow himself an abolitionist, and compared it with the present, in which hundreds of thousands are proud of that title, and the land is shaking beneath the tread of the increasing hosts of freedom. How wonderful the change; how inspiring the retrospect!

He proceeded to disclaim any special merit for what he had done. He was only one of many, who had labored with equal zeal, fidelity, and success, and whose cooperation

should not be forgotten. In this connection, he gratefully acknowledged the timely aid which was at so early a period tendered to the Liberator by the excellent women alluded to by his esteemed friend, Mr. Hilton.—But it was by a steadfast adherence to principle, and a clear and unflinching enunciation of the truth, that the field had been maintained, and the blessing of God secured.

As for himself, he could truly say that he had endeavored to make the cause of the slave his own. For that cause, he had sacrificed the respect and esteem of the friends of other days—reputation in the community—his ardent political attachments—his strong religious predilections, and taken his position outside of the Church and State, which were in league with the oppressor; and he had incurred something of bodily peril, and brought down upon himself the vials of popular fury. What then? For this was he to challenge praise, or of this was he to boast? Far from it. He had simply done his duty, and no one could do less, and be true to himself or his race.

We have lived—he said—to see nearly a million of slaves emancipated in the British West India islands—many millions emancipated in India—and slavery abolished in the French, Swedish, and Danish colonies, in Tunis and other parts of the world. I trust we shall all live to see the day when not a slave shall be seen on American soil, but liberty shall be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof!

In accepting this beautiful gift, I do so on this condition: if, at any subsequent period, I shall be found compromising your rights, or accepting any thing less than the immediate emancipation of the slave, then let the donors take it back, and, obliterating its inscription, bestow it on one worthy to receive it for his fidelity to the end.

Again thanking you for this manifestation of your confidence, affection and gratitude, I conclude by saying—LET US GO ON!

"Patient, firm, and persevering—
God speed the right!
Never! 'twill event nor danger fearing—
God speed the right!
Faint, nor bold, nor truth-holding—
And in Heaven's own time ACCEDING—
God speed the right!"

The "Infidelity" of Reformers.

BY WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING.

From the Spirit of the Age.

It is denied, that many Socialists in Europe and America are professed unbelievers in Christianity, as generally taught and exemplified; that they seek the overturn of ecclesiastical institutions, orders, organizations, funds, forms, usages, as an indispensable condition of social reform; that they wish to sweep away in a flood of ridicule Church-creeeds and ceremonies as the mere rubbish of ruined superstition! It is not denied, but frankly acknowledged with sorrow, but without surprise.

How shall the hatred, which these men seem to feel and manifest for what others deem their equals or superiors—clerical as the life of life, be explained? Anathemas are not explanations; reproaches give no account of the conduct they condemn; general charges of "depravity," "insanity," "infernal malice," &c., are worthless for all ends of intelligent appreciation. To hunt down virtuous and vicious, learned and ignorant, together, under a cloud and cry of "infidel," "radical," &c., is paltry persecution and vain as it is mean. Above all, it is a most childish device to escape the censure, which Christians of every communion feel that they rightfully merit by pouring volleys of excommunication on the critics of the Church. Doubtless, in corporate bodies, as in single persons, conscience can be lulled to sleep by opiates of self-complacency, even under the loudest thunders of judgment. But is God mocked by man's self-deception? Does not the Head of the Church know—as his purest disciples, certainly as his adversaries can not know—that Christendom is even now unchristian, that it has never yet been Christianized?

The explanation of professed unbelief among Socialists is to be found in the practical unfaithfulness of professed Christians. Conscience instinctively recognizes the proof of a principle in its use. "By their fruits shall ye know them," is the righteous test of institutions and individuals, yesterday, to-day, and forever, on earth and in heaven.

Now, sweet in sanctifying power as have been through all Christian lands, the lives of holy and humane believers, and green the paths however rough, beneath their steps of gentle wisdom, yet undeniably thus far, in every age, these are the exceptions; heathen never blush when measured by the average standard of character and conduct among Christians. By craft and hardness, intrigue and love of sway, by lawless lusts and uncurbed tempers, many a church-goer habitually violates good faith, decency, humanity and honor in ways which might shock a lie-demon of the desert, or a South Sea Islander. And when we pass from private to public manifestations of Christianity, the case is no wise mended. The earnest scholar recognizes with grateful awe the transforming energy which flows upon Mankind, in ever fuller measure, from the life of Christ; and with assured hope anticipates a time, when communities, nations, the race, shall become transfigured by the indwelling glory of God. But it must be confessed, that looked at on a large scale, through long periods, over wide regions, the Christian Church—under all past modes of organization, Catholic and Protestant—excepting of course the Primitive—does appear to have been a foe as much as a friend to human progress. Has she not sat like a queen on high places, clothed in purple and fine linen, sumptuously fed, luxuriously attended, while her so-called children were perishing amid squalor, nakedness and want? Has she not proved herself the upholder of tyrants quite as much as a redeemer of the oppressed, a tax-gather of the poor as much as an alms-giver? Has she not laid heavy yokes on conscience and reason, crowded

with captives her basins of bigotry, silenced the prophets, blinded the seers, as often as she has confronted heary abuses, stored the strong hold of wrong, poured light on the low streams of ignorance and heralded reform? In strict truth, such statements err on the side of meanness rather than of severity. What honest historian dreams of concealing facts so notorious as the past corruptions of the Church? What sincere follower of Him, who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, is not humbled with shame at its present shortcomings?

Is it a matter of surprise, however much we may feel sorrow, that the People—intimidated by promises of future good, while fainting under present burdens,—disgusting at the word "patience,"—"patience" from those who, propped on soft cushions and riding at ease, look down on duty, foot-sole wayfarers with ill-concealed contempt—moved in the blindness of despair mistake the white-washed sanctimoniousness of "respectable" Christians for Christianity itself? Is it matter of surprise that Reformers—finding their best efforts hindered rather than helped by those who profess ministers of the All-Good—would be the leaders of the people—taught by frequent experience that ecclesiastical politicians but too often surpass secular politicians in unscrupulousness—painfully and perpetually reminded that throughout Christendom the most prejudiced upholders of dead conventions are found among the clergy—should come at length to attribute the lukewarm charity, the fearfulness and degrading suspicions of the Christianized churches to a clerical weakness in the Christian Church? Ought we not rather to be surprised, that the disciples of one, whose every word and act were a protest against exclusiveness and a prophecy of mutualism, should not long since have put away all risks of popular corruption by effective measures for popular improvement? Indeed, it is surprising, that any reader of the New Testament should fail to take to heart that pungent "Parable of the Two Sons"—who when commanded by their father to go into the field alternately answered "I will not," and "I go Sir," yet in turn contradicted the word by the act. Is not the question pertinent to-day as of old, "Which one of the twain did the will of his father?"

Such as is the spectacle of professed, more or less practical infidelity throughout Christendom, yet the Age is bright with cheering prophecies. The Spirit of HUMANITY is at work in all classes, soothing jealousies, softening callous hearts, breathing in forgiveness, tolerance, respect, and every where preparing for a Real Reformation alike of Church and State.

The very infidels of our generation are Christians in principle and purpose to a degree that astounds themselves. Won irresistibly by the benign loveliness of the Son of Man they cry "reverence the Master of us all." Their keenest weapons, wherewith to attack sacred evils, are drawn from Christ's armorial of Good Will. The banner, that guides their hosts, is blazoned with Christ's motto of Fraternity. They prove themselves Christ's "friends," by their unflinching standard, obedience to the New Commandment. Their ideal of life is Christ's accomplished Gospel of Universal Love.—Undoubtedly in their person and methods they are yet rude; but their mountains of pride are falling, their valleys of meanness rise, and in the deserts of their neglected spirits is made ready a highway for the Lord.

Quickening encouraging are the signs that this spring-breath of Humanity is mellowing the most frost-bound formalists. A pretended spiritualism, which shows itself to be merely sentimental, or which is manifested chiefly in negative or restrictive acts, is becoming odious to all persons of plain goodness and unperverted feeling, however habituated to pietism. They recognize in it that very "leaven of the Pharisees" which Christ denounced as hypocrisy. The thought is every where taking substantial shape, that just, humane and pure conditions are as nearly allied to spiritual health, as sanity of body is to sanity of mind. Churchmen emulate in the contrary in active reforms. And even they, who hold it blasphemy to hope for a heaven upon earth, yet see that heavenly-mindedness is never fostered by keeping up a hell. In a word, still life as is infidelity, there is a rapidly augmenting overplus of faith.

Colorphobia on Steamboats.

On Monday evening, 16th ult. Mr. Newport F. Henry and family (colored) took passage on board the steamer Rip Van Winkle at Albany for New-York. After procuring tickets for the passage Mrs. Henry repaired to the promenade deck, in order to avoid the crowd of persons who were then coming on board. She had scarcely seated herself when one of the hirelings came up to her and in an insulting manner ordered her to go below, saying this is no place for you. His mandate was respectfully declined until Mr. H. made his appearance upon the promenade deck. Seeing that all was not right he inquired what the difficulty was, when he was ordered to go below immediately.

Mr. Henry then took his family, returned his tickets to the officer, received his money, left the boat, and took passage on board the steamer Oregon, where he was not insulted, but on the contrary kindly treated by the officers.—N. Y. Tribune.

Slavery, as defined by Frederick Douglass, "is perpetual unpaid toil; no marriage, no husband, no wife, no parent, no child, no ignorance, brutality, licentiousness, whips, scourges, chains, auctions, jails, and separations; an embodiment of all the woe the imagination can conceive."

PRESIDENT SHANNON of Bacon College Ky., a distinguished divine of the Pro-Slavery persuasion, declares the Declaration of Independence to be an "infidel" production, and some of its sentiments "anti-scriptural and absurd."